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THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 74/NO. 13 APRIL 5, 2010

INSIDE

Cuban general Armando Choy concludes tour in Montreal

—PAGES 8–9

Workers justifiably wary of U.S. Census

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Starting April 1, U.S. Census Bureau workers will be knocking on doors demanding that forms be filled out providing the government with personal information on every individual residing throughout the country.

The government is hiring 1.2 million temporary workers, paying $20 an hour, to conduct this operation over the next several months, twice as many as were hired for the 2000 census.

Federal authorities anticipate this will somewhat lower the official unemployment rate, currently at 9.7 percent, some 14.9 million workers. With the unemployment rate higher than during the previous census, "the effect of large changes in temporary 2010 census employment on the unemployment rate may be more noticeable in 2010," noted the Commerce Department.

Forms were mailed out to 120 million households in mid-March. Stamped on each envelope was "Your Response is Required by Law." Census workers will be attempting to contact all individuals who haven't returned the form. The government threatens fines of $100 if you don't complete it. If you put information on it the government considers incorrect you could be fined $500.

With increased government intrusions into the right to privacy, a growing number of workers, including immigrant workers and those without government-approved work papers, shy away from

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Hundreds at actions buy 'Workers Power' book

BY JOHN STUDER AND PAUL MAILHOT

WASHINGTON—Supporters of the *Militant* sold 270 copies of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes at demonstrations for immigrant rights and other political events over the March 21 weekend. In addition, 240 subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold.

Dozens of *Workers Power* books and subscriptions were also sold at demonstrations scheduled in conjunction with the Washington actions in cities around the country, including San Jose, Oxnard, and Salinas, California; Orlando, Florida; and Houston.

These sales are part of a national drive to sell thousands of copies of the book and win more than 2,000 new subscribers and renewals to the *Militant* this spring.

The response reflects the keen interest in finding an explanation for the capitalist economic crisis grinding against the working class today and a revolutionary perspective for how workers can defend themselves, both here and internationally, against the dictatorship of capital.

Of the 187 participants in the D.C. immigrant rights demonstration who bought copies of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation and the Road to Workers Power*, the majority wanted the Spanish-language edition that had just

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Cuban youth arrive for U.S. tour

Militant/Ernest Mailhot

Cuban youth delegation from Federation of University Students (FEU) receives welcome at Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport in Atlanta March 21. The two, Aníbal Ramos Socarrás, left with hand raised, and Yenaivis Fuentes Ascencio, fifth from right, begin month-long tour where they will speak at campuses in a half dozen U.S. cities. (See article and tour schedule on page 7.)

'No deportations, no raids!' marchers say

More than 100,000 converge on D.C.

Militant/Jorge Lertora

Contingent at March 21 demonstration for immigrant rights in Washington, D.C.

BY BETSY FARLEY AND SARA LOBMAN

WASHINGTON—"We need documents for everyone and no more raids," said José Moisés Alvarado, explaining why he joined the massive rally here March 21 to defend immigrant rights. Alvarado and coworker Elsa Porras were among 50 workers from Oceanside Institutional Industries in Long Island, New York, who came to the protest.

Contingents of workers, students, and others from across the United States poured into the capital for the rally, which grew to well over 100,000.

The first to arrive on the National Mall were hundreds of workers from Florida. Other contingents came from throughout the South, including Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina, where many immigrants work in construction, as meat packers, or in poultry plants.

More than 120 buses came from the Chicago area, including a lively contingent of four buses organized by the

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Quebec government workers protest cuts in public service

BY JOHN STEELE

MONTREAL—Tens of thousands of government workers with banners proclaiming "*Ensemble pour les services publics*" (Together for public services) demonstrated here March 20, as their union contract with the Quebec government is set to expire at the end of the month. Some 75,000 teachers, healthcare workers, nurses, and government office workers joined the action, called by the Common Front, a coalition of Quebec's three union federations.

In addition to wage demands, the workers were protesting deteriorating working conditions and cuts in health care, education, and other government services. Keith Ulsenheimer, a school janitor, told the *Militant* that full-time janitors are forced to work harder because the administration "refuses to hire enough people to do the job." A nurse at the St-Luc hospital described working conditions there. "We have to work through our breaks," she said. "We don't have enough skilled nurses in intensive care. We are doing double shifts."

Three years ago the Quebec government imposed a wage freeze on 475,000 government workers. The unions are demanding a wage increase of 13.25 percent over three years. The government has offered 6.5 percent over five years. The Quebec government says that it can't afford the workers' demands because of its deficit. Meanwhile, in the past week nurses at two Montreal area hospitals have staged walkouts to protest worsening working conditions.

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Rallies demand U.S. out of Iraq and Afghanistan

BY CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON—Demonstrations took place here and in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle March 20 and 21 to demand U.S. troops withdraw from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq.

Three thousand marched in San Francisco. As demonstrators went by the Hilton Hotel, some joined the picket line in support of Local 2 of the UNITE HERE union, which is fighting for new contracts at many local hotels.

The march here drew about 1,500 people from the nearby area, as well as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Florida. Quite a few were high school or college students. Another 1,000 marched in Los Angeles and 200 in Seattle. The ANSWER Coalition sponsored the actions, which were endorsed by many other organizations.

"We have to show [President Barack] Obama we don't support his foreign policy," said Sarah Ikhmayes, who came from New York on a bus organized by Al-Awda, a Palestinian organization. She said she opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the attacks on Palestinians in Gaza by the Israeli government.

"Many of us are from countries where the war is taking place," said Rishi, from Desis Rising Up and Moving, a group made up of Pakistanis and other South Asians in New York. "Obama said he was going to stop the war. Instead, he's sending more drones."

Families of U.S. soldiers killed in Iraq and Afghanistan marched under the banner of Military Families Speak Out.

A band of drummers behind a banner that read "Bongha Washington—Koreans for Peace" marched in traditional dress. They carried signs saying "End Korean War" and "Sign Peace Treaty Now," a reference to the fact the U.S. government has never officially ended its hostilities against North Korea. "There has to be peace before there can be any hope of talks" on unification of North and South Korea, said Kay Kim, a leader of the group, which is made up of Koreans and Korean Americans in the D.C. area.

Speakers at the rally expressed disappointment that Obama has escalated the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan. A common thread in the speakers' remarks and on many signs was the American nationalist theme that the money spent on the wars should be spent instead on education and other needs at home.

Militant/Paul Pederson

Antiwar demonstrators in Washington march toward White House March 20

"Come back to America and pay attention to the problems here," said Ralph Nader. He called for focusing on electing more Democrats to Congress.

Speakers also protested the $7,500 in fines imposed on ANSWER by the D.C. government for putting up antiwar posters in the last two weeks. ANSWER says this is on top of $70,000 in fines the group is challenging in court.

Eight people on the march were arrested after placing coffins at a White House fence.

Eric Simpson from San Francisco contributed to this article.

Young feminists meet in Washington, D.C.

BY SUSAN LAMONT

WASHINGTON—Some 350 young women and a few young men attended the sixth National Young Feminist Leadership Conference March 20–21 at the University of the District of Columbia. More than 100 campuses from around the country were represented, some from as far away as California.

A number of participants are involved in chapters of the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliance, the campus affiliate of the Feminist Majority Foundation, a women's rights organization with strong ties to the Democratic Party. Others came from women's studies departments or campus women's groups, including some who had been involved in defense of abortion clinics in their area.

While conference organizers saw the main focus of the gathering as mobilizing to support President Barack Obama's health-care "reform" plan, many young women were eager to discuss broader questions about the fight for women's rights.

At an afternoon session on "Women, Jobs, and the Economy," two representatives of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress presented a slide show of graphs showing unemployment rates for different sectors of the population. Their comments emphasized the gap between what professional women such as doctors earn, compared to their male counterparts.

Some of the young women at this session challenged the focus on women negotiating for high salaries as lawyers, government staffers, or other "careers." They said they didn't see that as their future.

During the question-and-answer period, Alyson Kennedy, a socialist and garment worker from Chicago, took the floor. "This so-called economic recovery is not a recovery for most working people," she said. "Millions of women can't find work or are forced to work temp jobs or part-time jobs. Temp jobs that pay $8 an hour, with no benefits—that's what many women face.

"As the government's own statistics just showed, the unemployment figures for young people and Black workers are much higher than the average. We need to understand that the attacks on abortion rights are part of the capitalists' attacks on working people, including in the health-care 'reform' plan. That's why they are trying to push women back," she said to applause.

A workshop on "Access Denied: Women, Immigration Reform, and Reproductive Justice" was well attended. Many conference participants welcomed news of the massive demonstration for immigrant rights set for the next day here. Several groups of young women decided to join the march. In informal discussion and at workshops, many agreed with the idea that a national mobilization to defend abortion rights was badly needed too.

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The Militant

Vol. 74/No. 13

Closing news date: March 24, 2010

Editor: Paul Mailhot

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Published weekly except for one week in January and one week in July.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018. **Telephone:** (212) 244-4899
Fax: (212) 244-4947

E-mail: themilitant@mac.com

Website: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: United States: For one year send $35 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: For one year send $85, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address.

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New York meeting pays tribute to Betty Shabazz

BY SETH GALINSKY

NEW YORK—A March 19 panel discussion was held here on the life and legacy of Dr. Betty Shabazz, who died in 1997. Shabazz was married to Malcolm X and was present when he was assassinated in 1965. From 1976 until her death, she was a faculty member and then administrator at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn.

The meeting, celebrating Women's History Month, was chaired by Ilyasah Shabazz, one of the six daughters of Malcolm X and Betty Shabazz. The event was held at the Malcolm X and Dr. Betty Shabazz Memorial and Educational Center in Harlem, which occupies part of what had been the Audubon Ballroom, where Malcolm gave numerous speeches during the last year of his life and where he was killed.

Howard Dodson, director of the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, gave a brief history of the fight in the 1990s to preserve the Audubon and establish the center. The ballroom had been shut down following Malcolm's assassination and was later purchased by Columbia University, which announced plans to tear down the building and construct a medical center.

Dodson said that Betty Shabazz was a leader of those in New York and elsewhere who waged a successful battle to get the city administration "to stop the destruction" of the Audubon. "She came to believe that this place of tragedy should be transformed into a place of honor in tribute to Malcolm's legacy."

Above: Rob White Photography; Right: Militant/Seth Galinsky

March 19 meeting in New York at Malcolm X and Dr. Betty Shabazz Memorial and Educational Center on life and legacy of Shabazz. Above: From left, Sister Aisha al Adawiya; Steve Clark; Donna Michelle Jackson; Howard Dodson; and Safiya Bandele. Right: Ilyasah Shabazz, one of Malcolm X and Betty Shabazz's daughters, chairs meeting.

"This room used to extend all the way back to the end of the block," Dodson said. "They only conceded to preserve less than half of it," with the medical center now occupying the rest of the block. The center displays videos of Malcolm's life and has a meeting hall on the second floor used for community events.

Dodson said that Betty Shabazz reviewed and made recommendations on all the art for the center. She surprised those who thought she would choose works only by African American artists, he said. Instead, Shabazz used the criteria of what would add to understanding the legacy of Malcolm, not the nationality or skin color of the artist. A sculpture of Malcolm X in the lobby was created by Gabriel Koren, a Hungarian-born sculptor. A mural covering an entire wall of the meeting hall was painted by Daniel Galvez, a Mexican American. The etched glass decorating the entrance was created by Colin Chase, an African American.

Also speaking on the panel were Safiya Bandele, who worked for many years with Betty Shabazz at Medgar Evers College; Aisha al Adawiya, founder of Women in Islam and a friend of the family, who is a member of the center's board of directors; Donna Jackson, director of an organization that promotes social networking; and Steve Clark, editor of several collections of speeches by Malcolm X published by Pathfinder Press, coeditor of the just published *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, and a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

In introducing Clark, Ilyasah Shabazz pointed out that after the assassination, "Many did not know what Malcolm's message was. It was important to see his work published."

Clark noted that Pathfinder's relationship with Betty Shabazz goes back to soon after the assassination in 1965, when the publisher approached her about producing *Malcolm X Speaks*, which came out later that year. Pathfinder's editors and Shabazz shared the determination that "neither assassins nor anybody else would keep Malcolm's words—and his example—from getting in print and staying in print, for current and future generations to read, study, and above all emulate," Clark said.

Clark pointed out that many of the speeches and interviews had first been published or covered in the *Militant* newspaper. He quoted Malcolm's January 1965 statement—in the very meeting hall where the panel was held—that, "None of the newspapers ever talk about our meetings [or help publicize them] in any way, shape, or form, other than the *Militant*—the *Militant* does."

Clark noted that *Malcolm X Speaks* was followed in 1967 by *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* and in 1979 by *By Any Means Necessary*. In the 1980s and 1990s, "when I got to know Betty and worked with her," Clark said, Pathfinder published more speeches that were not yet in print, in *Malcolm X Talks to Young People* and *February 1965: The Final Speeches.*

Place of women in political life

Picking up on the Women's History Month theme of the event, Clark commented on the shift of Malcolm's views on the place of women in social and political life. In the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Malcolm pointed to the stance of the Nation of Islam—one he helped propagate—that "the true nature of a man is to be strong, and a woman's true nature is to be weak . . . he must control her if he expects to get her respect."

Anyone ever acquainted with her "knows that is hardly a good description of Betty Shabazz!" Clark said to laughter from the audience.

By the latter half of 1964 and early 1965, following his break with the Nation and two trips to Africa and the Middle East, Malcolm had changed his views. In every country making economic and social progress, he said, women were also making progress in gaining freedom and a right to education—and vice versa. In the freedom struggle in the United States and around the world, he added, women have "made a greater contribution than many of us men."

Clark pointed to the discussion of this question and many others in the new book *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, including Malcolm's collaboration with women who were leaders of the Black rights struggle in the United States such as Fannie Lou Hamer and Gloria Richardson. Noting that the book has 74 pages of photographs and illustrations, Clark held up the photo of Richardson standing off National Guardsmen armed with bayonets in the early 1960s sent by the governor to quell Black rights demonstrations in Cambridge, Maryland.

He also pointed to a 19th century woodcut, obtained with the help of the Schomburg Library, of recently enfranchised former slaves fording a creek with rifles in hand to ensure they were able to cast their first vote in rural Georgia.

During the discussion, Ilyasah called on Karole Dill Barkley, a former high school classmate, who was in the audience. "Karole knew my father before she knew me, because of Pathfinder Press," Shabazz said. Barkley said she had grown up in Bedford-Stuyvesant, a predominantly Black neighborhood in Brooklyn, and had attended a private secondary school along with Ilyasah Shabazz. Somehow as a teenager she had gotten hold of *Malcolm X Speaks*, and "I studied it," she told the audience. "Malcolm opened up my perspectives. What he said resonated with me."

Malcolm X

in his own words

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Militant Fund Meeting: Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power. Featured Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., April 3. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. *5482 Mission St., Tel.: (415) 584-2135.*

Cuba aids Chile quake victims

BY MIKE OOSTING

While the Cuban government has directed major medical aid to Haiti since the earthquake there earlier this year, it didn't hesitate to send more resources and medical personnel to Chile when an 8.8-magnitude earthquake struck that nation in late February.

The initial Cuban brigade shipped out to Chile March 2, less than 24 hours after a request for international aid by the Chilean government. It was comprised of 27 health professionals, including 11 doctors.

These *brigadistas* brought tons of equipment and medicine. They began to assist the quake-devastated nation immediately after arrival, setting up a field hospital in Rancagua, a city about 50 miles south of Santiago.

Sales of 'Workers Power'

Continued from front page

come off the press two days before.

One hundred sixty demonstrators bought *Militant* subscriptions in Washington, most of them in a special combination offer with the book. A number of these were sold on the buses on the way to and from the demonstration, and some at send-off rallies before the buses left. Another 29 books and 31 subscriptions were sold to marchers in immigrants' rights actions on the West Coast and Houston.

The top salesperson at the immigrant rights marches was Susan Anmuth from Newark, New Jersey, who sold 15 copies of the *Workers Power* book.

"Everyone who bought the book and subscription also signed up to be notified about other activities socialist workers are involved in," Anmuth said about four of the subscriptions she sold on a hospital workers' bus riding down to the march. "By the end of the day, two of the bus captains also bought the book, one with a subscription."

"At the demonstration itself, I showed both the Spanish and English editions to many people," continued Anmuth. "As one young Mexican woman was looking at photographs in the book, her husband said, 'This demonstration is not my thing.' She responded, 'Well, it's *my* thing,' and promptly bought a subscription with the book."

"A Virginia high school student stopped by the literature table and spent a while looking through the book," said Paul Pederson, a meat cutter from Washington, D.C., who sold 12 copies of the book at the rally. "She asked her father if he would buy it for her. He said, 'It is about revolution and Black people. Are you sure you want it?' She told him yes and he bought the book and subscription.

"For many at the rally, looking through the photographs in *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* persuaded them to buy the book. The historical photos that convey the militancy and breadth of the battle for Black liberation and those that illustrate the place of the Black struggle in today's world helped convince many of the interconnections between those fights and the battle for legalization of immigrants."

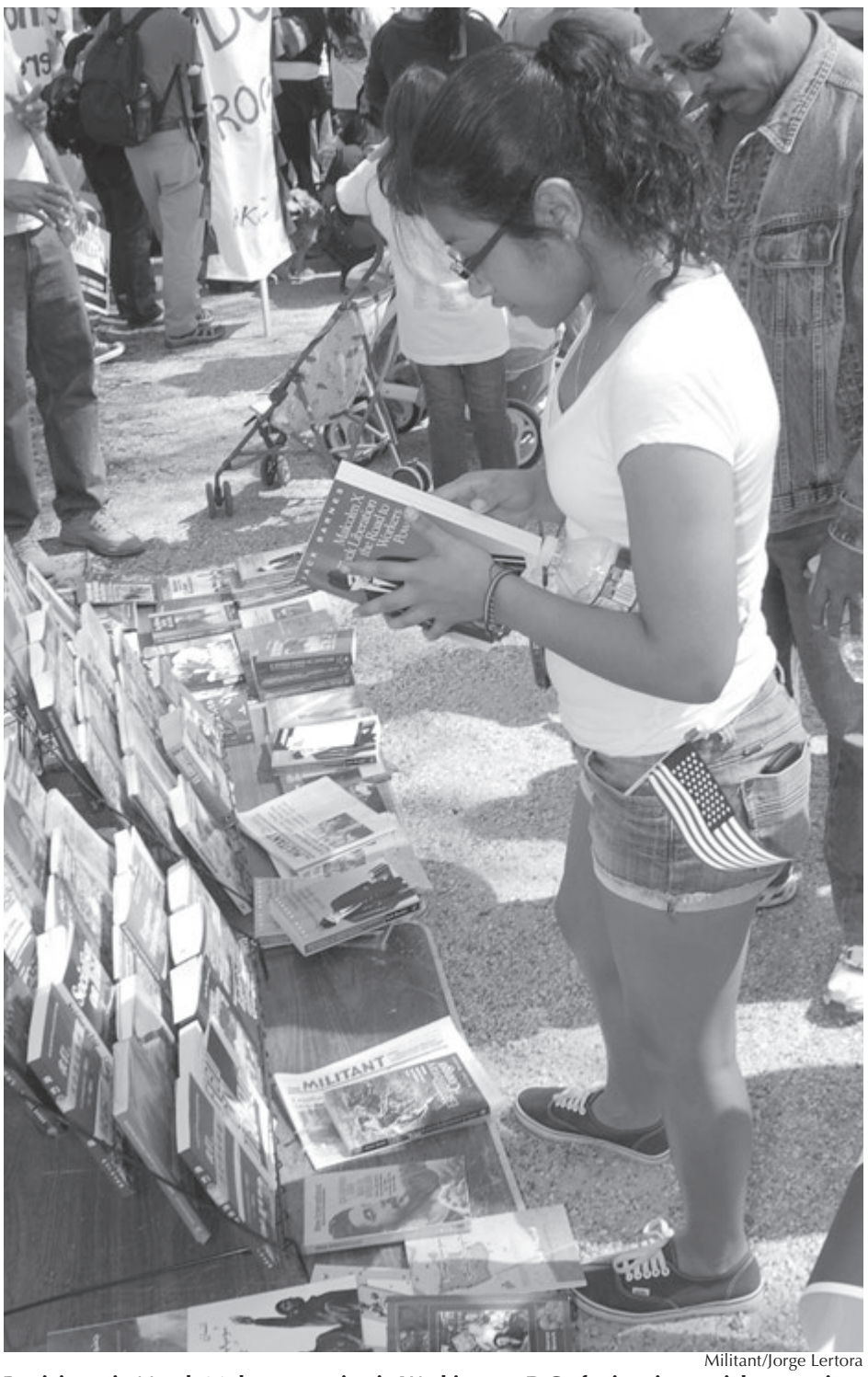
Craig Honts and Gale Shangold sold seven books and nine subscriptions at the Washington action and on the bus ride home. "A Mexican family from Chicago bought one of the subs," said Honts. "After we talked more about Malcolm X and how he came to the conclusion that we have to make a revolution in the United States, and the parallels with the fight for immigrant rights, they decided to get the book too. One teenage daughter wanted the book in English, but she got outvoted 4-1 by the rest of the family, who wanted it in Spanish."

During a break at the National Young Feminist Leadership Conference going on here at the same time, a dozen young women from Midwest campuses gathered to continue discussion. They felt that the workshop they had just attended concentrated too much on how women can get high-paying professional jobs, rather than on the severe impact of the economic depression on working people. "I didn't come to the conference for this," said one student from Goshen College in Indiana. "I came looking for something different."

Glova Scott, a laundry worker from Washington, joined the discussion. "I came to the conference to meet young people like you who are looking for a more fundamental approach to ending women's oppression," she said, introducing everyone in the circle to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*. "Malcolm X understood that capitalism is the root cause of racism," Scott said. "And we can say the same thing about women's oppression."

"Say no more," said one Goshen student, who pulled out $15 for the *Workers Power* book and a *Militant* subscription. Another student also bought a subscription, and several signed up to learn more about the Socialist Workers Party, as well as the current speaking tour of two Cuban students on U.S. campuses.

At antiwar demonstrations in Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Houston, and the Twin Cities 44 *Workers Power* books and 25 *Militant* subscriptions were sold.



Militant/Jorge Lertora

Participant in March 21 demonstration in Washington, D.C., for immigrant rights examines the book *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, by Jack Barnes.

❖

The chart in this week's issue of the *Militant* includes the number of subscriptions to the paper and copies of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* that have been sold since the March 13 start of the circulation campaign. The eight-week drive will focus on selling thousands of copies of the book and 2,000 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

Local quotas for the subscription campaign will be included in an upcoming chart, after each area has had a discussion and adopted a goal based on centering the subscription campaign on sales of the *Workers Power* book. It is through the discussions on the politics of the book with workers, farmers, students, and others that supporters of the *Militant* will organize to surpass the 2,000 goal.

Next week's issue will resume the "Sell the Book on Workers Power" column. We invite our readers to contribute short items describing the kinds of political discussions they have been involved in to sell the book.

Campaign to sell 'Workers Power' with 'Militant' subscriptions
March 13–May 12

Country	Subscriptions sold	'Workers Power' sold
UNITED STATES		
Atlanta	15	5
Boston	13	5
Chicago	19	21
Des Moines, IA	15	4
Houston	16	27
Los Angeles	17	20
Miami	19	17
New York	101	129
Philadelphia	30	27
San Francisco	47	32
Seattle	17	17
Twin Cities, MN	31	13
Washington, D.C.	28	36
Total U.S.	360	353
UNITED KINGDOM		
Edinburgh	5	6
London	8	15
Total U.K.	13	21
Canada	23	8
New Zealand	9	9
Australia	3	0
Sweden	3	2
International Total	**411**	**393**

Militant Fund drive
March 13–May 12

Country	Quota	Paid	%
UNITED STATES			
San Francisco	**$14,000**	**$2,670**	**19%**
New York	$19,000	$2,330	12%
Des Moines, IA	$2,500	$85	3%
Atlanta	$7,800	$0	0%
Boston	$3,500	$0	0%
Chicago	$9,600	$0	0%
Houston	$2,500	$0	0%
Los Angeles	$8,700	$0	0%
Miami	$3,000	$0	0%
Philadelphia	$3,700	$0	0%
Seattle	$8,000	$0	0%
Twin Cities, MN	$7,000	$0	0%
Washington, D.C.	$6,500	$0	0%
Total U.S.	$95,800	$5,085	5%
Canada	$6,650	$0	0%
New Zealand	$3,000	$0	0%
Australia	$1,500	$60	4%
UNITED KINGDOM			
Edinburgh	$300	$0	0%
London	$750	$0	0%
Total U.K.	$1,050	$0	0%
Sweden	$500	$0	0%
Total	**$108,500**	**$5,145**	**5%**
Should be	**$110,000**	**$13,750**	**13%**

Communist literature well received in Montreal

MONTREAL—Supporters of the *Militant* actively promoted several meetings here March 15–19 featuring Armando Choy, a Cuban general of Chinese descent and coauthor of *Our History Is Still Being Written: The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution*. They sold the socialist weekly along with *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, the new Pathfinder book that is at the center of the *Militant* spring circulation drive. The paper and *Workers Power* book were well received at the meetings where Choy spoke, at literature tables on several college campuses, and in working-class districts during the week.

Throughout Choy's visit, 30 introductory subscriptions to the *Militant* and 61 single copies were sold, along with 44 copies of *Our History*—18 in English, 18 in Spanish, and 8 in Chinese. Participants bought 8 copies of *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* and 11 signed up to get the French edition as soon as it is published. One hundred eighty-five *Militant* supplements containing the introduction to *Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power* were sold or given out with subscriptions or copies of the paper. Overall, a total of 77 books worth $1,489 were sold at activities during the week of Choy's tour to Montreal.

—JOHN STEELE

Schumer-Graham bill is attack on workers rights

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Democratic senator Charles Schumer and Republican senator Lindsey Graham released their proposal for immigration "reform" in an op-ed piece in the March 19 *Washington Post*, two days before the giant outpouring for immigrant rights in Washington, D.C. President Barack Obama quickly endorsed the proposal, saying it "can and should be the basis for moving us forward."

The plan, said Schumer and Graham, looks at immigration from the standpoint of "America's security and economic well-being." It has four "pillars."

First, all U.S. citizens and legal immigrants who want to work in the United States would be required to carry a national ID card. This would be "a high-tech, fraud-proof Social Security card," the senators said, with a "unique biometric identifier" for its owner.

"Prospective employers would be responsible for swiping the cards through a machine to confirm a person's identity and immigration status," the senators said. Those who refuse to do so or knowingly hire workers lacking proper cards could be fined or jailed.

Second, Schumer and Graham urged an immediate beefing up of Border Patrol cops. This would be combined with "an entry-exit system that tracks people who enter the United States on legal visas and reports those who overstay their visas to law enforcement databases." Although the proposal does not say so specifically, this suggests a much wider use of the 287(g) program, which gives local police the authority to act as immigration cops. The program is widely hated by immigrants because it has led to increased deportations based on cops arbitrarily stopping or finding pretext to arrest workers who appear to be from other countries in order to check their papers.

The "third pillar" would "award green cards to immigrants who receive a PhD or master's degree in science, technology, engineering or math from a U.S. university." The senators said, "It makes no sense to educate the world's future inventors and entrepreneurs and then force them to leave when they are able to contribute to our economy."

But there is no such preferential treatment for those who work in construction, manufacturing, and meatpacking; or as janitors, dishwashers, and maids. These "low-skilled immigrants," as the senators scornfully labeled them, will only be allowed in when they are needed. Those who maintain a good record with their employers and the government "over many years" have a "chance to earn a green card."

For those already here and undocumented, the senators offer the "fourth pillar"—the "tough but fair path" to a green card. "They would be required to admit they broke the law and to pay their debt to society by performing community service and paying fines and back taxes. These people would be required to pass background checks and be proficient in English before going to the back of the line of prospective immigrants to earn the opportunity to work toward lawful permanent residence."

California farm workers march for legalization

Militant/Eric Simpson

SALINAS, California—More than 5,000 farm workers and supporters marched through working-class neighborhoods here March 21 calling for legalization of immigrants. The protesters, waving United Farm Workers union flags, invited those watching them to join the four-mile march. Many did. Others waved from their houses or honked their horns in support.

—LEA SHERMAN

D.C. marchers say: 'no deportations, no raids'

Continued from front page

newly formed Immigrant Youth Justice League, made up of students from area colleges, many of whom are undocumented. Hundreds of these youth had marched in Chicago March 10 behind a big banner proclaiming, "Undocumented and unafraid."

Two hundred buses came from all over New York City. Contingents came from Iowa, Michigan, Delaware, Ohio, Maryland, and Virginia. People flew in or drove from California.

Labor unions—including Workers United, Laborers International Union, United Food and Commercial Workers, United Farm Workers, and the Service Employees International Union (SEIU)—brought contingents. People came with their churches, schools, youth groups, and community organizations.

While the event was predominantly Latino, immigrant workers from countries in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean also placed their stamp on the action. For many, it was their first protest.

Hundreds of organizations and individuals endorsed the rally coalition, called March for America, including immigrant rights groups, the AFL-CIO, U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the unions listed above, several members of Congress, and dozens and dozens of local and statewide committees.

Prior to the march, some rally organizers pointed out that the Barack Obama administration in 2009, its first year in office, carried out the highest number of deportations in U.S. history.

Schumer-Graham bill

As the March 21 rally gained rapid momentum, Obama held highly publicized meetings March 11 with both representatives of some immigrant rights groups, and with senators Charles Schumer and Lindsey Graham, who subsequently announced they are sponsoring a new immigration bill. (See article on this page.)

Rally organizers downplayed the bill's attacks on immigrants and workers rights, portraying it as "a program to bring undocumented immigrants forward and get them on a path to full U.S. citizenship," as a March for America press release put it.

Obama addressed the rally via a video and promised "to be your partner as we work to fix our broken immigration system." The president has endorsed the Schumer-Graham proposal.

Other speakers included Cardinal Roger Mahony, Catholic archbishop of Los Angeles; Benjamin Jealous, executive director of the NAACP; and Andrew Stern, president of the SEIU.

Many rally participants carried the coalition's signs saying, "Obama: Don't forget your promises" and also waved the American flags they were handed

Continued on page 12

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

April 5, 1985

The 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960, in which 69 Black people were brutally gunned down was marked in a river of blood by the South African government.

Nineteen Blacks were slaughtered in Langa township March 21 by South African cops while participating in a peaceful funeral procession. The racist regime claimed that a crowd of 4,000 people attacked the cops with stones, sticks, and firebombs. But eyewitness accounts report that the crowd had dwindled to 300 to 500 people when the cops opened fire.

This murderous assault raised the official death total for the last 13 months to 243, all Blacks except one.

In the typical arrogance of an imperialist slavemaster, President Reagan told a White House news conference that the Blacks themselves may have provoked the cops, and thus caused their own deaths.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

April 4, 1960

March 30—As a result of two successive sit-in actions and mass demonstrations by 5,000 Negro students in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the lunch-counter protest movement now includes every Southern state except Mississippi.

The Louisiana students joined the southwide movement as integration victories were won in several areas and as police stepped up the campaign of jailings.

Seven students from Louisiana's all-Negro Southern University were jailed Monday for demanding service at Jim Crow lunch counters. The next day nine more were jailed as the anti-segregation action was repeated.

This afternoon an estimated 3,000 students massed on the steps of the state capitol in Baton Rouge to protest the arrests. Another 2,000 marched through the city carrying signs that proclaimed: "We refuse to be intimidated."

THE MILITANT
Weekly Organ of the Communist League of America

April 6, 1935

The conviction of eight leaders and active workers of the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Union and consequent sentence to the penitentiary, is a crime of the first magnitude, not only against the individual victims but against the entire working class of America, against all forces in the country working for a better and happier future.

Those guilty of the Sacramento crime are, first of all, the industrialists and bankers of California, their cover organization, the Associated Farmers, and their agents, the prosecuting attorneys, the court, the vigilantes and deputies, the police and the hired stool pigeons—the whole state apparatus of repression and oppression.

Accomplices in the crime are the cynical and corrupt leaders of the Communist Party who shamefully subordinated the interests of the defendants to an internal party factional struggle against them.

New International
A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

Issue 12
Capitalism's Long Hot Winter Has Begun
by Jack Barnes
Their Transformation and Ours
Socialist Workers Party draft resolution
Crisis, Boom, and Revolution
1921 reports by V.I. Lenin & Leon Trotsky

Issue 13
Our Politics Start with the World
by Jack Barnes
Farming, Science and the Working Classes
by Steve Clark
Capitalism, Labor, and Nature: An Exchange
Richard Levins, Steve Clark

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Malcolm X and the communist movement

The following is the 11th in a series of excerpts the Militant *is running from Pathfinder Press's latest book,* Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power*, by Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. We encourage our readers to study and discuss the book. This excerpt is from the chapter "Black Liberation and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." Subhead is by the* Militant.

BY JACK BARNES

The *Militant* was the paper of record for Malcolm's speeches, including during the final period when he was still in the Nation of Islam. (*Muhammad Speaks* had ceased printing them.) Our movement and our press were known for having recognized the revolutionary political logic of Malcolm X's course in early 1963. Already at that time, Malcolm would sometimes demonstratively buy the *Militant* on his way into a meeting where he was speaking. . . .

Malcolm spoke at Militant Labor Forums three times between April 1964 and January 1965. Major excerpts from all three talks are reprinted in *Malcolm X Speaks*, published by Pathfinder just months after the assassination in 1965. And portions of the question-and-answer period from the first forum appear in *By Any Means Necessary.* This was unusual for Malcolm. Because although he had spoken to numerous campus audiences around the United States and elsewhere, including while he was still in the Nation, these three forums were the only times he had agreed to be on the platform at a meeting of a revolutionary political organization outside Harlem, "downtown," as Malcolm said. (He appeared with Progressive Labor Party leader Bill Epton once or twice at PL-sponsored meetings in Harlem.) . . .

Malcolm spoke at the third Militant Labor Forum, also held at Palm Gardens, in early January 1965, not long after returning from his most recent Africa trip and a couple weeks before the *YS* [*Young Socialist*] interview. "It's the third time that I've had the opportunity to be a guest of the Militant Labor Forum," he said. "I always feel that it is an honor and every time that they open the door for me to do so, I will be right here. The *Militant* newspaper is one of the best in New York City. In fact, it is one of the best anywhere you go today," adding that he had seen copies in Paris and various parts of Africa. "I don't know how it gets there," he said. "But if you put the right things in it, what you put in will see that it gets around.". . .

When you read Malcolm's talks and interviews from this period, you'll also find the evidence there to clear up numerous myths about him. First and foremost, by reading and studying Malcolm you'll understand the inaccuracy of those who argue that despite the value of the written record of his work, it pales in comparison to his spoken word—to his effectiveness as a public speaker. . . .

We *wouldn't* have preferred to produce records—or today CDs—of Malcolm instead of the books. Yes, Malcolm was an unusually effective speaker. But our efforts over the past forty years to publish Malcolm X in his own words—efforts that have so far borne fruit in eight books, six in English and two in Spanish, as well as two pamphlets—are hardly "the next best thing." Unlike the recordings, they are essential to making Malcolm's ideas and example accessible for study to new generations. And to those around the world (the great majority) whose first language is not English.

Nobody can seriously "study" a recording. It's much more difficult to go back to refresh your memory, or to look something up. This is important, since as Malcolm's political evolution seemed to accelerate more and more over the last months, the "wit and wisdom" aspect of his talks receded. What came to the fore instead, translatable into any language, were his efforts to think out and then explain the biggest political questions and challenges before revolutionary-minded working people and youth the world over. The written record of that work is and will remain the long-term test of Malcolm's political "relevance" to the future. That's where we find the *continuity*, the cumulative political conquests that advance program and strategy.

Malcolm X at Militant Labor Forums hosted by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Top and bottom: April 8 and May 29, 1964. Inset, Jan. 7, 1965, meeting chaired by Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for U.S. president in 1964. "Malcolm X," says Jack Barnes, "put great store in meeting and collaborating with other revolutionaries."

Need revolutionary ideas in writing

The same is true of other outstanding revolutionary leaders of our class—Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, James P. Cannon, Fidel Castro, Maurice Bishop, Thomas Sankara, to name just a few. Each of them worked hard as speakers to present revolutionary ideas to working people as clearly and effectively as possible. Some of them, as we know either from our own experience or published accounts, were powerful speakers. Where tapes are available, they're useful and fun to listen to—once or twice. But it is impossible to seriously study and absorb working-class program and strategy just by listening to a recording. You need to have them before you in black and white, on paper. Either the ideas stand up in print, in any language and without an audience, or they don't. *Malcolm's do!* And there's still plenty of wit, plenty of pure humanness.

There's another myth about Malcolm that can be exploded by a careful reading of what he *said* and what he *did*—both of which can be found in some detail in the books of Malcolm's speeches. That's the notion that while Malcolm was a great propagandist, a great explainer of what so many people wanted to say about themselves and what they are capable of accomplishing, that Malcolm was never an organizer—or, at least, he never had a chance to become an organizer. But just from his own words alone, you'll see that's not true. Malcolm was all of the above, but he was simultaneously a skilled revolutionary organizer. What was cut short was the possibility of his putting those skills to further and broader work. The enemies of the proletariat understood that fact better than "pro–Malcolm X radicals," both when he was alive and today.

During the final months of his life, Malcolm moved away from using religious phrases and stances, even religious examples, in political activity, too. He explained in the clearest language possible exactly what he was doing, what he was seeing, what he was coming to understand and to believe.

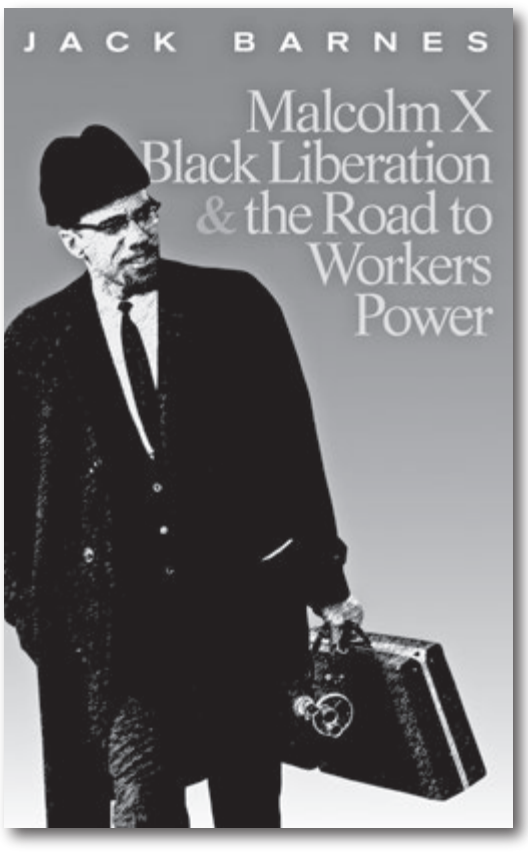
Malcolm was on the road to becoming a communist. Why would we conclude anything else? . . .

Malcolm insisted he had stopped calling himself a Black nationalist because Black nationalism was inadequate to explain what experience had taught him needed to be done to transform the world, a world that had in many ways in the imperialist epoch become a "white world." But Malcolm knew that Black men and women were inextricably connected to *that* world, and stitched into it, by a million threads. The world was unimaginable without that interaction. Once you stopped hunkering down, there were no separate white and Black worlds in any way, whether in place or in time. Most importantly, there was—and remains—a single capitalist state that must be overthrown in each country.

Malcolm X, Black Liberation, and the Road to Workers Power

By Jack Barnes

New from Pathfinder Press



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Cuban artists, writers answer slander campaign

A slander campaign against the Cuban government and revolution has been unleashed after the suicide death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo, who died February 23 as the result of a hunger strike. Tamayo was in a Cuban jail serving time for assault.

Below, the *Militant* prints a response to the slander campaign from the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC) and the Brothers Saíz cultural association.

The statement refers to a petition that has received widespread media coverage around the world and especially in Spain, where major capitalist papers have almost daily promoted the recent attacks on Cuba. While many of the signers of the petition are notorious longtime opponents of the Cuban Revolution, they have been joined by some artists and intellectuals, including film director Pedro Almodóvar and singer Ana Belén.

Some who have opposed the slander campaign, like Spanish actor Willy Toledo, have themselves come under a barrage of insults.

The attacks on the Cuban Revolution are being actively promoted in the United States, including by the *Miami Herald* and its Spanish-language sister publication *El Nuevo Herald.*

The UNEAC and Brothers Saíz statement refers to the International Book Fair, which started in Havana for 10 days in February and then began visits to every province in Cuba, to make a wide range of books accessible to workers, farmers, and others across the island.

The statement also refers to Haiti, where more than 1,400 Cuban–government organized doctors, nurses, and other medical personnel continue to provide health care in the aftermath of the earthquake there, while the U.S. government is pulling out the doctors it is responsible for.

The subheading and translation of the statement are by the *Militant.*

❖

While the Book Fair was traveling from one end of our country to the other and hundreds of Cuban doctors were saving lives in Haiti, a new campaign against Cuba was being cooked up. A common criminal with a proven history of violence, transformed into a "political prisoner," announced that he was undertaking a hunger strike for the installation of a telephone, stove, and television in his cell.

Encouraged by unscrupulous individuals and despite everything that was done to prolong his life, Orlando Zapata Tamayo died and has now been converted into a pitiful symbol of the anti-Cuba machinery.

On March 11, the European Parliament passed a resolution "strongly condemning the avoidable and cruel death of the dissident political prisoner Orlando Zapata Tamayo," and in an offensive act of interference in our internal affairs, "urged European institutions to give their unconditional support and full encouragement to the launching of a peaceful process of political transition to multi-party democracy in Cuba."

UN Photo/Pasqual Gorriz

Cuban medical brigade treats young woman and her child in Port-au-Prince after earthquake in Haiti. As hundreds of Cuban doctors were saving lives there, a new campaign against Cuba was being cooked up, notes statement from National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba.

A petition titled "Orlando Zapata Tamayo: I accuse the Cuban government," is being circulated to collect signatures against Cuba. The petition claims that this inmate was "unjustly imprisoned and brutally tortured," and that he died "denouncing these crimes and his country's lack of rights and democracy." At the same time, it shamelessly lies about our government's alleged practice of "physically eliminating its critics and peaceful opponents."

On March 15 a Spanish newspaper displayed the face of Zapata Tamayo, already deceased and in his coffin, at the same time that it announced that some intellectuals had added their signatures to the petition alongside those of old and new professionals of the internal and external counterrevolution.

Distortion of Cuban reality

We Cuban writers and artists are fully aware of how the media corporations, hegemonic interests, and international reactionary forces join together on any pretext whatsoever to damage our image. We are aware of the cruel and morbid distortion of our reality and how they lie about Cuba every day. We also know the price that is paid by those who have tried to express themselves within culture with their own nuances.

Never in the history of the Revolution has a prisoner been tortured. Not one single person has been disappeared. There has not been one single extrajudicial execution. We have founded our own form of democracy, imperfect, yes, but far more participatory and legitimate than the one they want to impose on us. Those who have orchestrated this campaign do not have the moral authority to teach us lessons in human rights.

It is essential to halt this latest aggression against a country that is blockaded and harassed without mercy. To that end, we appeal to the conscience of all the intellectuals and artists who do not harbor spurious interests with respect to the future of a revolution that has been, is, and will be a model of humanism and solidarity.

2010 Cuban Student Academic Exchange

March 21–April 21 tour by Yenaivis Fuentes Ascencio and Aníbal Ramos Socarrás

Atlanta/Valdosta, Georgia

March 22 Reception at Women's Research and Resource Center, Spelman College

March 23 Class at Agnes Scott College (am); Atlanta University Center, Spelman College (pm)

March 24 M.L. King Center and Auburn Avenue Research Library

March 25 Georgia State University

March 26 Morehouse School of Medicine

March 27 Meeting with Black farmers, Valdosta, Georgia

Minneapolis

March 29 University of Minnesota (am); Meeting at United Food and Commercial Workers Local 789 (pm)

March 30 Minneapolis Community and Technical College (am); University of Minnesota (pm)

Chicago/Wisconsin

March 31 DePaul University

April 1 Northeastern Illinois University

April 3 Exchange with Wisconsin farmers

Washington, D.C./Maryland

April 5 American University

April 6 Howard University, School of Law

April 7 Howard University

April 8 University of Maryland, College Park

New York/New Jersey

April 13 Rutgers University, New Brunswick

April 14 Hofstra University (am); Hunter College (pm)

Los Angeles

April 15 Cal State Los Angeles

April 16 Charles Drew University of Medicine and Science

Cuban youth begin U.S. speaking tour

BY RACHELE FRUIT AND DAVE PRINCE

ATLANTA, March 22—Cuban students Yenaivis Fuentes Ascencio and Aníbal Ramos Socarrás arrived at the airport here late Sunday night to begin a month-long tour where they will speak at campuses in Atlanta; Twin Cities, Minnesota; Chicago; Washington, D.C.; New York City; and Los Angeles.

The tour stop in Atlanta is sponsored by academic departments and programs at Clark Atlanta University, Spelman College, Morehouse School of Medicine, and Georgia State University. In December, 115 professors from around the country extended invitations to the students to speak. The breadth of support for the tour was instrumental in getting visas granted by the State Department. It is the first such exchange in nine years.

Militant/Rachele Fruit

Cuban students Aníbal Ramos Socarrás, speaking, and Yenaivis Fuentes Ascencio, with back turned in denim jacket, talk to class of 45 students at Spelman College March 23.

The students were greeted at the airport by Michele Reid Vazquez, professor of history at Georgia State University and co-treasurer of the tour; Sobukwe Shukura, cochair of the National Network On Cuba, southern region; Vladimir Cadet, president of the Masters of Public Health Program and Student Government Association at Morehouse School of Medicine; Kendal Lotze, a Georgia State University student who is helping to organize the Cuban students' visit to his campus; and others.

Yenaivis Fuentes Ascencio, 23, was born in Guantánamo, Cuba. Fuentes completed five years of study at the School of Medical Sciences in Guantánamo and is finishing her sixth and final year of undergraduate medical studies in Havana. Fuentes is serving as the National Public Health Education Coordinator of the Federation of University Students.

Aníbal Ramos Socarrás, 30, was born in Manzanillo, Cuba. Ramos is a third-year graduate student in surgery at the Manzanillo School of Medical Sciences

Continued on page 11

‘Cuban Revolution carries out coun

Retired Cuban brigadier general Armando Choy concludes success

BY JOHN STEELE AND MAGGIE TROWE

MONTREAL—A standing-room only crowd of more than 250 people heard Armando Choy speak at the University of Quebec in Montreal (UQAM) March 19. The meeting capped a successful five-day speaking tour here by Choy, a retired brigadier general in Cuba’s armed forces who has held many leadership responsibilities since he participated in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in the 1950s.

In the course of the week Choy spoke to more than 700 people at college and university meetings, activities in the Chinese community, and other events. The many presentations by Choy were followed by discussion periods in which a wide-range of questions about the Cuban Revolution were addressed.

Along with Moisés Sío Wong and Gustavo Chui, Choy is one of the three authors of the Pathfinder book *Our History Is Still Being Written: The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution*. The book explains how the revolutionary conquest of power by working people in Cuba some 50 years ago—and their defense of that power in the face of Washington’s decades-long determination to destroy it—shows the road forward for humanity today. It has generated very broad interest since its publication in 2005, and has been the subject of more than 75 meetings and panel discussions in cities around the world.

The UQAM meeting was chaired by Victor Armony, director of the Observatory of the Americas at UQAM, which organizes conferences with guests from Latin America; and Patrick Véronneau, a law student. The Observatory and Pathfinder Books in Montreal were the main organizers of the five-day tour. Numerous student and faculty groups at several universities, along with organizations in the Chinese community and others, also sponsored the tour.

In addition to Choy, speakers included Teresita Vicente, Cuban ambassador to Canada; Timothy Chan, president of the Chinese Canadian Historical and Cultural Society (CCHCS) in Montreal; and Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press and editor of *Our History Is Still Being Written*. The platform also included Cuban Consul General to Montreal Sergio Vélez and Michel Prairie from Pathfinder Books.

The meeting was conducted in French, Spanish, and English with simultaneous translation available for all participants. Fourteen volunteer translators took part in the effort.

Broad support for the tour

A broad range of organizations and individuals helped to organize, promote, and finance Choy’s tour.

In addition to the UQAM meeting, Choy spoke to 200 students at the University of Montreal and 50 students at Marianopolis College, an English-language pre-university college (see article in last week’s issue of the *Militant*). In the Chinese community Choy was the honored guest at a banquet hosted by CCHCS. Held at the Ruby Rouge restaurant in Chinatown, it was attended by 100 people.

All events in the tour, big and small, had French-English-Spanish translation, and when needed, Chinese as well.

Cultural soiree

Another highlight of the visit was the opportunity to meet and talk with many in Quebec’s cultural and artistic community at a dinner hosted by well-known Quebecois artist Armand Vaillancourt and his companion, artist Joanne Beaulieu. Vaillancourt, a longtime supporter of Quebec independence and defender of the Cuban Revolution, was one of those who invited Choy to Montreal and attended many of the tour events. In front of their house hangs a large banner calling for freedom for the Cuban Five.

Vaillancourt and Beaulieu gave Choy a tour of the three-story home, including Vaillancourt’s studio and workshop. At the same time, street performers including a fire-eater and singer-guitarist entertained the guests.

The dinner attended by close to 100 people was billed as a “frank discussion on culture, democratic rights, and other questions in relation to the Cuban Revolution.”

Choy, who is president of the State Working Group on Havana Bay and directs the major environmental cleanup project there, also had the opportunity to talk with City of Montreal parks and environmental officials during his visit. Along with Consul Sergio Vélez, he met with Pierre Bouchard, director of the parks department, and other city officials to exchange experiences about environmental programs and policies in both Montreal and Havana.

Cuba’s revolutionary history

In introducing Choy to the audience at UQAM, Waters described the movement that Choy joined in the 1950s to overturn the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, “one of the most brutal that Latin America had seen.”

“After exhausting all other avenues,” Waters explained, “working people in Cuba took up arms against the dictatorship and in six years of revolutionary struggle overthrew it.” When they took power, she noted, “they did not set out to make a socialist revolution.” They simply began to take measures to narrow the gap between “the obscenely rich and the desperately poor.” That included agrarian reform to guarantee land to the landless rural poor.

“Millions of acres of the best land was owned by U.S. families and their corporations,” Waters said. The agrarian reform, limiting the size of land holdings brought down the beginning of the “efforts of the U.S. rulers to overthrow the revolution”—a political course which continues today. As they fought to defend their gains, the workers and farmers of Cuba mobilized to deepen their revolution, “to establish the first free territory in the Americas, and to stand down imperialism for 50 years,” she said. “That’s how Cuba’s socialist revolution was born.

“This is the source of the U.S. government’s implacable hatred of the Cuban Revolution,” she noted, “and we should keep that in mind today as we witness yet one more wave of attacks on its people and government—the effort to tar Cuba as a country that persecutes and imprisons political opponents for their ideas.”

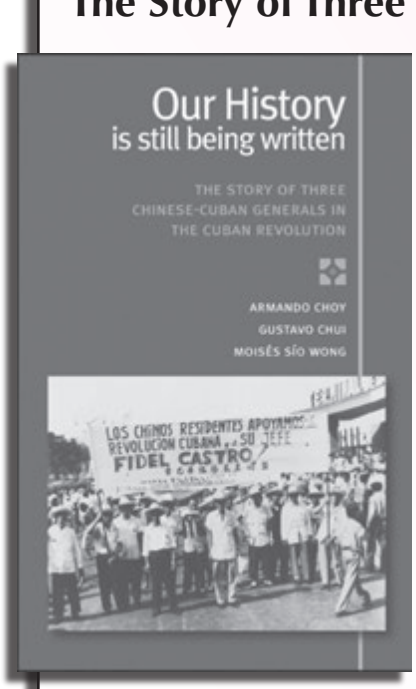
“Revolutionary Cuba is a country where no one has ever been tortured or ‘disappeared’,” she said. “The government’s respect for the human rights of the people of Cuba and of the world is unmatched.”

“In Cuba it is said that the people are one-third European, one-third African, and one-third Chinese,” Choy said in his opening remarks, describing the importation of indentured Chinese laborers into Cuba in the 19th century. Choy noted the unblemished record of Chinese-Cubans alongside fighters of European and African descent in battles against the Spanish colonialists, who derived

Left: Retired Cuban brigadier general Armando Choy during visit to library at Marianopolis College March 16. Right: Part of audience of more t

Our History Is Still Being Written

The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cub



Armando Choy, Gustavo Chui, a young rebels of Chinese-Cuban anc the great proletarian battle that defin came combatants in the clandestine tionary war that brought down a U.S and opened the door to the socialist

In this book they talk about the hi gration to Cuba, as well as more than action and internationalism, from Cu Venezuela. We see how millions of c them changed the course of history, b ings in the process. **$20**

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Cuba and the Coming American Revolution
By Jack Barnes
$10

rse of proletarian internationalism'

sful five-day speaking tour in Montreal on Cuba in world politics

Right: Militant/Martín Koppel; Left: Militant/Grant Hargrave

han 250 at March 19 meeting for Choy at University of Quebec in Montreal.

enormous wealth from the labor of African slaves and Chinese laborers.

Earlier Timothy Chan had explained that in the 19th and early 20th century Chinese laborers sometimes traveled across Canada from Vancouver through Montreal, and on to Cuba, including some from his own family.

"Chinese-Cubans played a distinguished role in the Cuban Revolution as well," Choy said, recounting how he and other young Chinese-Cubans joined the movement. The Cuban Revolution from the start declared war on discrimination against Blacks and women and Chinese, Choy explained. "We fight for equality. We're not perfect, but we have made big advances."

Choy explained how Cuba has carried out a proletarian internationalist foreign policy since the beginning of the revolution, a course independent of the policies of the government of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). "We had excellent relations with the Soviet Union, but we never bowed our heads to them," he said. "We supported liberation struggles in Africa and Latin America, and the Soviet Communist Party didn't agree with us."

The Cuban general noted the effort led by Che Guevara to organize a revolutionary movement in the Southern Cone of Latin American, starting in Bolivia. "Che didn't get the support necessary from the Bolivian Communist Party. They followed the Soviet Communist Party and turned their back on Che," he said, contributing to the defeat of the effort and the murder of Guevara in 1967 by the Bolivian military and U.S. intelligence forces.

The position of the Cuban Revolution, Choy continued, is that "oppression must not be allowed to go unchallenged for centuries. It must be changed." He gave the example of Cuban military aid to the government of Angola from 1975 to 1988, when several hundred thousand Cuban volunteers fought alongside the Angolan army against an invasion of South African apartheid forces that also occupied neighboring Namibia.

"Thanks to our help not only Angola but Namibia won independence," Choy said, "especially after the decisive battle at Cuito Cuanavale," a small town in Angola where the South African army suffered a historic defeat in 1988.

Choy described the challenges Cuba faces today in a world wracked by the deepening crisis of capitalism. "We know we have problems. Our president, Raúl Castro, has spoken about that," Choy said. Today the Cuban government is taking measures to increase food production on the island, and reducing the amount of food that must be imported and paid for with hard currency.

"We are giving out idle land to those who want to farm it. They sell a part of the produce to the Cuban government for distribution, and the rest they sell wherever they want," Choy said. "That's a transformation we are carrying out within our socialist system, but we are not denying our socialist principles" of equitable distribution.

Both Waters and Choy appealed for support for the five Cubans who have been imprisoned for more than 11 years in U.S. jails. "The five patriots were in the United States to penetrate and gather intelligence against counterrevolutionary organizations planning actions, including terrorist actions, against our country. The five didn't carry out espionage against the United States. They are patriots," Choy declared, adding that with support and solidarity from all corners of the world, "some day the United States government will be obliged to free them."

After the UQAM meeting more than 50 people, including Choy, gathered at a nearby bar and restaurant where discussion continued until after midnight.

A week of wide-ranging discussion

Throughout the tour Choy was asked questions about Cuba's revolutionary history, government policies, and human rights record. Recently, including on the eve of the tour, newspapers in Quebec and across Canada have carried stories on the death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo, who claimed to be a political prisoner in Cuba and took his own life through a hunger strike. There has also been coverage of the alleged repression by the Cuban government of the "Ladies in White," a group of self-proclaimed "dissidents" who have carried out antigovernment protests.

"These are opponents of the Cuban Revolution who have broken our laws," Choy responded, "But there are no political prisoners in Cuba. You can't take money from a foreign government to work against the revolution. No country in the world permits that."

One student asked Choy if he had advice on what could be done to change things in his country of origin in Africa, and another asked the same question about Canada.

"We don't have a schema to impose on others," Choy responded. "Every country has its own conditions and characteristics. We have a course of proletarian internationalism in Cuba. We don't just give our leftovers to other countries. Our policy is to share the little we have.

"We can't tell you and we don't want to tell you what is to be done here," he said. "We say a better world is possible, but it must be for all the inhabitants of the world."

Two people asked how Cuba has prepared for the possibility of a U.S. invasion. "We can tell you that they can't intervene in Cuba, because we won't allow it," Choy responded. "We've prepared our entire people." If such an aggression should take place, he continued, "It won't be like Iraq or Afghanistan. . . . Without exaggeration, if they invaded our territory hundreds of them would die every day."

"I have been very much at home here with the professors and students, and with the members of the Chinese community," Choy told the audience at the University of Montreal. "We are comfortable answering all questions, from those about the so-called political prisoners to our relations with the United States."

Throughout his visit Choy received greetings from a number of prominent individuals and groups. These included: Karen Sun, executive director of the Chinese Canadian National Council, Toronto Chapter; Eleanor Yuen, head of the Asian Library and Centre at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver; Karin Lee, a filmmaker with the Top Dollar Sisters Productions; and Tim Louis, a Vancouver attorney.

A message to Choy from Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, read, "The boldness of this week's Quebec events—inspired by the book-length interview with you together with FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] Generals Moisés Sío Wong and Gustavo Chui, *Our History Is Still Being Written*—encourages all of us working together to build the United States tour of the two Cuban students to continue the exchange about the Cuban Revolution and its place in the world that is now under way in Montreal. That success sets a standard we can organize to live up to over the coming four weeks."

During his visit Choy was interviewed by reporters from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in Spanish and Chinese; the CBC's short wave division Radio Canada International; CBC television; the community radio station Radio Centreville; and Ruefrontenac.com, the online newspaper of locked-out *Journal de Montreal* reporters and writers. Choy's tour was prominently featured on the Web Site of Montréal Black Entertainment Television. Coverage of the tour along with photos appeared in the March 18 issue of the Chinese-language weekly *La Presse Chinoise*.

Militant/Grant Hargrave

Sculptor Armand Vaillancourt (center, standing) hosted dinner of close to 100 people for Armando Choy March 18. Choy is seated in middle of table to Vaillancourt's right.

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Is Socialist Revolution in the U.S. Possible?
A Necessary Debate
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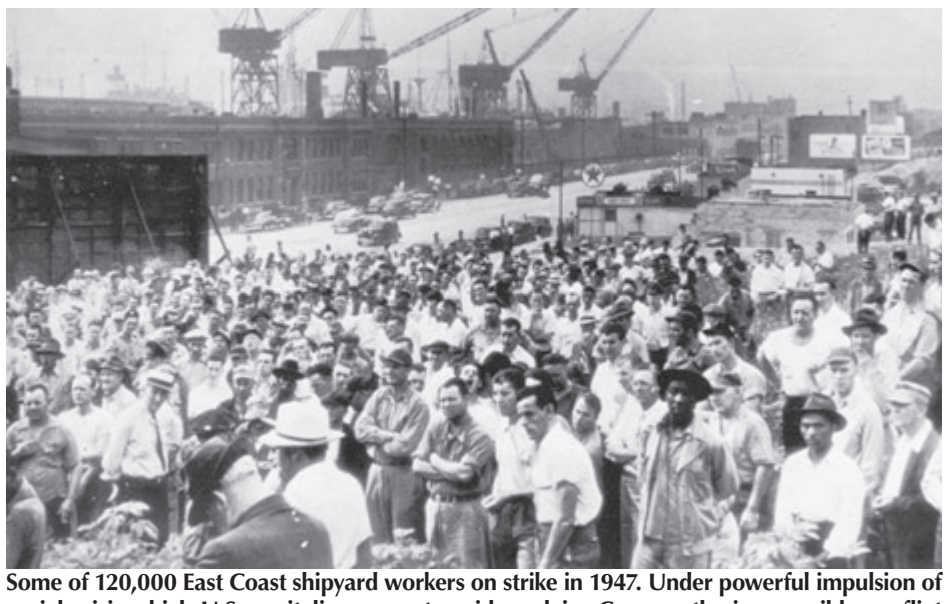
Coming class battles and America's road to socialism

Printed below is an excerpt from America's Road to Socialism *one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for March. The book features six talks by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the communist movement in the United States and national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party from 1938 until 1953. The talks were given in December 1952 to January 1953, a political period much different than what we face today. The U.S. military intervention in Korea was raging with no mass resistance to it. A radicalized labor movement that built the industrial unions during the 1930s was in retreat. Reaction fueled by the McCarthyite witch-hunt was rampant, and economic prosperity strengthened the belief of many in the perpetual reign of capitalism. The SWP pointed to the necessity and inevitability of coming labor battles to challenge capitalist political rule. Copyright © 1975 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.*



Some of 120,000 East Coast shipyard workers on strike in 1947. Under powerful impulsion of social crisis which U.S. capitalism cannot avoid, explains Cannon, the irrepressible conflict will lead to a showdown between capitalists and labor in the struggle for power.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

BY JAMES P. CANNON

In real life, when the social crisis strikes, and especially when it develops and deepens, the developments will be simultaneous, interacting on each other in all fields. This is what history tells us. . . .

The workers, under such conditions, must and will turn to militancy and throw up leaders of a new mold, just as the workers in the thirties threw up new trade-union leaders out of the ranks. And it is in just such a situation, when class collaboration is out the window and the class struggle is on the agenda, that the supreme expression of the class struggle, the revolutionary Marxist party, will get a hearing and become the mentor of the militant new staff of leaders arising out of the shops and the factories.

That's the prospective change on the side of the working class—a change toward a new militancy, a new leadership, and the revolutionary political party rising in influence and power by virtue of its character and its program. And on the other side, the capitalists must and will discard all temporizing measures, cast off the democratic facade which they can no longer afford, and turn to wholesale violence against the workers.

Fascist bands will be subsidized and armed and hurled against the strikers, against the union halls and all other workers' gathering places and institutions. The workers, for their part, will have no choice, if they don't want to be defeated and enslaved, as the German workers were defeated and enslaved under Hitler—they will have no choice but to organize their own defense guards, meet the fascist bands on their own terms and carry the battle to them.

American capitalism is not in love with democracy. It's no principle of American capitalism that we must maintain all the democratic forms—free speech, free press, free rights to organize, and all the rest. The only principle the American capitalists have is the exploitation of labor, the extraction of profits, and the enrichment of themselves at the expense of the workers. That's their principle. If they can do it in an easy and smooth and quiet and peaceful way under political democracy, OK. That's the cheapest way. But when that doesn't work any longer, our wonderful, democratic capitalists will turn, with the savage fury of the German and Italian capitalists, to the bloody violence of fascism. They will finance and equip a fascist movement and check it straight up to the labor movement: "What are you going to do about it? There are going to be no more debates with you, it's going to be fight.

"It will be a fight to a finish, and it will be fought on all fronts, from election campaigns to strikes and fights with fascist gangsters in the streets. Under the powerful impulsion of the social crisis which American capitalism cannot avoid, and which is already ripening within its body, all these developments predicted here, and many more, will erupt spontaneously, simultaneously, in one general process which cannot be arrested by any device. The irrepressible conflict will lead inexorably to a showdown in the United States of America, which will bear the name: The Struggle for Power.

The alternatives in this struggle will be truly terrible: Either a workers' government to expropriate the capitalists, or a fascist government to enslave the workers. Those are the alternatives.

Now who will win? Upon the answer to that question, in my opinion, the fate of mankind will depend. Trotsky once referred to America as "the foundry where the fate of man will be forged." That fate is going to be forged in the social crisis and the coming showdown battle between the workers and fascist capitalists for mastery of this land.

Who will win, in this greatest battle of all time, and of all places? That side, I say, will win which deserves to win. That side will win which has the will to win, and the consciousness that no compromise is possible. Power is on the side of the workers. They are an absolute majority of the population. And their strategic social position in industry multiplies the importance of their numerical majority at least a hundred times. Power is on their side. All they need is will, the confidence, the consciousness, the leadership—and the party which believes in the revolutionary victory, and consciously and deliberately prepares for it in advance by theoretical study and serious organization.

Will the workers find these things when they need them in the showdown, when the struggle for power will be decided? That is the question. We think they will. We think the workers and colonial peoples, in revolution throughout the world, will powerfully influence the American workers by their example. When all the world is in revolution, the American workers will remember their own ancestry and take fire too.

We think the American workers, who have never been Quakers, will demonstrate unexampled energy, courage, and decision when it becomes clear that their own destiny is at stake. We think they will find the consciousness, and therewith the leadership, for victory in the struggle for power.

And we think, finally, that it is our duty even now, in advance, in the period of preparation for the coming times, to contribute to this consciousness and leadership. That's why we belong to the Socialist Workers Party. That's why we're building it up. That's why we're inviting you to join us in the great work of preparation for the great tomorrow.

March BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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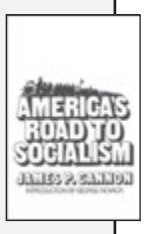

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U.S. military prepares to expand Afghan offensive

BY DOUG NELSON

March 22—As U.S.-led armies are working to secure political gains from the capture of the farming community of Marjah in southern Afghanistan, commanders are preparing assaults in Kandahar Province and the northern province of Kunduz.

While the operations can count on the rolling deployment of 30,000 additional U.S. soldiers announced by President Barack Obama in December, the ability to win sufficient local allies and train enough Afghan troops remain major challenges.

U.S. general Stanley McChrystal, head of coalition forces in Afghanistan, told Pentagon reporters March 17 that the Marjah campaign is still in the "military phase." The longer-term political objective of establishing "credible Afghan governance" remained a "significant task ahead," he said.

There are eight soldiers or cops for every civilian in Marjah. Despite this, Taliban combatants have been able to hide among the population and carry out a limited campaign of violent intimidation against those who cooperate with the U.S.-backed regime, the *New York Times* reports. As part of its effort to win "hearts and minds," U.S. commanders have announced a policy of noninterference in the lucrative heroin and opium business there, which accounts for most residents' income.

McChrystal has begun amassing tens of thousands of troops in Kandahar Province, the birthplace of the Taliban.

As in the Marjah offensive, securing long-term alliances with local bourgeois forces is a key objective. "What you are going to see in the months ahead . . . is a number activities to shape the political relationships in and around Kandahar," McChrystal said. "As you know, it's a complex grouping of tribes and other relationships that define how power is shared."

The imperialists' ambitions in Kandahar are being facilitated by the Taliban's stepped-up terrorist campaign in the provincial capital, the country's second-largest city. Recent bombings there, designed to warn coalition armies and intimidate the population, have killed or wounded more than 90 civilians, according to AP.

As Washington's brass focus on making progress in the south, Taliban forces have become more active in the northeast. Between 2,000 and 3,000 U.S. troops are being dispatched to Kunduz to augment Berlin's detachment of 1,100 soldiers, where, according to the *Washington Post*, local officials say two of six districts are largely under Taliban control.

The area was the sight of a U.S. air strike called in by German troops last September that killed as many as 142 people, a large number of whom were civilians.

Rift among Washington's opponents

Earlier this month, Taliban forces attacked and displaced Hezb-i-Islami Gulbuddin (HIG) forces loyal to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar in an area south of Kunduz. Nearly 80 of Hekmatyar's fleeing combatants surrendered to Afghan government forces.

HIG represents one of three insurgent groups in Afghanistan. It is the second biggest in size after the Taliban, but considered less of a military threat to Washington than the forces under the command of Jalaluddin Haqqani. HIG has ties with some members in Hamid Karzai's administration and parliament.

Hekmatyar was a leading commander in the rightist Islamist Mujahideen coalition that fought the Soviet invasion in the 1980s, receiving major support from Washington and Islamabad. Following the failure of competing Mujahideen factions to form a stable government, in which Hekmatyar served as prime minister, Islamabad began backing the rising Taliban, who defeated Hekmatyar's forces and others and took the capital Kabul in 1996. Hekmatyar later allied himself with the Taliban following the U.S. invasion in 2001.

President Karzai reportedly met today with HIG representatives to negotiate peace terms. The party's 15-point list of conditions included the withdrawal of U.S. and NATO troops by the end of the year.

Karzai's government, together with a number of UN officials, had earlier been in secret "reconciliation" talks with Abdul Ghani Baradar, considered the Afghan Taliban's second in command, until he was arrested last month by U.S.-assisted Pakistani intelligence forces. The Pakistani government has denied accusations by Afghan officials that the arrest was tied to assuring Islamabad's leading position in negotiations with the Taliban as part of securing its influence in Afghanistan.

Reuters/Shamil Zhumatov

U.S. soldiers patrolling on outskirts of Kandahar city in southeast Afghanistan March 20

Islamabad is engaged in a contest over influence in Afghanistan with the Indian government, which is the biggest regional aid donor to the country. Ahead of high-level meetings in Washington with Pakistan's top general and other government representatives, Islamabad has been pressing Washington to back out of an agreement with New Delhi for the Indian military to help train the Afghan Army.

Meeting in New Zealand backs Saharawi fight

BY ANNALUCIA VERMUNT

AUCKLAND, New Zealand—"They've never enslaved us," sings Mariem Hassan, referring to the Saharawi people's struggle for self-determination and dignity inside Moroccan-occupied Western Sahara today.

Some 70 people attended a March 9 meeting here in solidarity with the Saharawi struggle. The Auckland University Students Association hosted the event. It featured the film "Mariem Hassan: Voice of the Sahara," followed by a question-and-answer session with Hassan. The well-known singer visited New Zealand to perform at the March 12–14 World of Music, Arts and Dance Festival (WOMAD).

In the film Hassan describes her first performances in her early teens at popular festivals held in anticipation of the withdrawal of Spanish colonizers from Western Sahara in 1975. They had ruled there since 1884. The Moroccan army subsequently invaded Western Sahara. Forced to flee with her family ahead of the Moroccan invasion and subsequent war, Hassan eventually settled in the refugee camps on the border of Algeria, where some 160,000 Saharawis still live today.

The Polisario Front, which fought a popular war against occupying regimes and today is the elected government in exile of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic of Western Sahara, organizes the camps.

Hassan joined a group of musicians in the camps. The Polisario Front had put an end to the restrictions of the traditional caste system, which allotted a musical career only to specific families known as the *Igawen*. Polisario also encouraged the development of Saharawi culture.

Hassan was asked if there is any possibility of compromise between the people of Western Sahara and Morocco. She responded, "Morocco tries to erase our identity. We cannot reconcile with the occupation of our homeland."

What can people in New Zealand do to support the struggle? asked another questioner. "Whatever you can do to publicize the situation, and spread the truth about the Western Sahara is of value," Hassan replied, pointing to the importance of making known the culture and language as she has been able to do at festivals in Europe, Africa, and now in Australia and New Zealand.

Cuban students tour U.S.

Continued from page 7

at the University of Granma where he finished his undergraduate medical studies with honors. Ramos served one year in Haiti with a volunteer medical brigade. He is a leader of the Federation of University Students at the School of Medical Sciences in Manzanillo.

The first public event in Atlanta was a dinner and lively reception at Spelman College, hosted by the Women's Research and Resource Center. Twenty-six people, including more than half a dozen from the Caribbean American Student Association, participated in a three-hour-long discussion with the two Cuban students.

Professors from several departments on the campus were at the event, including Dr. Alma Jean Billingslea Brown, chair of the African Diaspora and the World program; Dr. Frederick Langhorst, chair of the World Languages and Literature Department; and Dr. Bahati Kuumba, of the Women's Research and Resource Center. Eleanor Hunter, on the staff of the Atlanta Auburn Avenue African American Research Library, also participated in the reception.

Ramos thanked those present, saying, "It's a great victory to be here. It's your victory." He said that such direct exchanges make it possible for youth in the United States to learn about the Cuban Revolution. The Cuban students will in turn learn about struggles in the United States.

Ascencio described how the consciousness of young people in Cuba has been a product of the revolution. She said, "We are free youth who were formed in the revolution. Because of this, and in my case being Black and a woman, we owe what we are to the revolution."

Ramos and Ascencio used their presentations to talk about the fight to free the Cuban Five, who have been unjustly held in U.S. jails for 11 years. The five were informing the Cuban government about violent actions being planned against Cuba by counterrevolutionary groups in the United States.

Camille Creary, a Spelman student and member of the Caribbean American Student Association, said in the discussion that the exchange is "opening my eyes to the Cuban Revolution."

Public meetings during their week in the Atlanta area are set for Spelman College and Georgia State University. A community meeting is also being organized for students, farmers, and others in Valdosta, Georgia, at the Serenity Christian Church, sponsored by the Valdosta chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the South Health District. That meeting will be followed by a visit to the farm of Willie Head, who has been part of the fight of Black farmers to keep their land and win compensation for decades of discrimination by the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Lisa Potash contributed to this article.

EDITORIAL

Legalize all undocumented!

In videotaped greetings to the massive rally for immigrant rights March 21 in Washington, President Barack Obama pledged to marchers that he will be "your partner as we work to fix our broken immigration system." But it isn't "our" system; it's that of the employers and their government. "Broken" or not, it is designed to serve their interests at the expense of immigrant workers and the working class as a whole.

Just 10 days before, as Obama was meeting with organizers of the rally and promising he was committed to "reform," U.S. immigration cops raided two restaurants and several homes in Maryland. They arrested 28 workers from Latin America and Bangladesh.

None of the so-called immigration reform bills, not the Schumer-Graham version, which is backed by Obama, nor other variants, like one promoted by Congressman Luis Gutiérrez, aim to put an end to these abuses.

It's no accident that when production contracted sharply as the capitalist depression unfolded and the bosses slashed jobs that the government stepped up enforcement of immigration laws. But the bosses have no intention of deporting most immigrant workers. Instead they want to heighten insecurity and fear among immigrants to maintain a superexploited layer of the working class and shore up their declining rates of profit. They want to more tightly control the flow of labor to meet their needs. And at the same time foster divisions between immigrant and native-born workers.

Now Congress is considering adoption of a national ID card. The real target is not just immigrants but all working people in the United States. An ID card would allow the bosses and the cops to blacklist workers who refuse to go along with speedup and unsafe working conditions, and go after fighters against racist attacks, immigrants without papers, and other political activists. It's another step by the capitalists and their government to prepare for the coming resistance to their wage cuts, layoffs, austerity plans, police brutality, and race and sex discrimination.

The Schumer-Graham bill would also further increase the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border and brand immigrant workers as "criminals" who need to "admit they broke the law."

Immigrant workers refuse to give up or cower in fear. The more than 100,000 people who rallied in Washington, D.C.—including union contingents and a significant number of Black workers—show that attempts to divide the working class will be countered by working-class solidarity.

No, the system doesn't need "fixing"; it needs to be dismantled entirely. We need to act on the basis that an injury to one is an injury to all. Legalization for all undocumented workers now! Immediately end deportations and factory immigration audits and raids! No to a national ID card! These are demands that can unite working people and help build a movement strong enough to oust the capitalists from power so we can reorganize society based on recognition of the worth of every human being, regardless of race, national origin, sex, or skin color.

Workers justifiably wary of U.S. Census

Continued from front page

filling out the census forms.

In February President Barack Obama and the U.S. Congress renewed the Patriot Act, which greatly expanded the powers of the FBI and other intelligence agencies to conduct spying and disruption operations and carry out arbitrary searches and seizures, as well as jail immigrants virtually indefinitely without charges.

In an acknowledgement that working people regard with suspicion the census takers who knock on doors and collect information for the government, the Obama administration sent a letter to Congress stating that its "legal position" is that census data cannot be disclosed under the Patriot Act. "The government has previously given legal assurance the information will not be used for immigration enforcement," reported Associated Press.

New York City mayor Michael Bloomberg campaigned around this point at a census promotion meeting at Flushing International High School March 16. "If a family member has concerns about immigration records, tell them not to worry," he said, "filling out the census form will not get anyone in trouble." In sections of Queens, New York, where immigrants from many nations live, participation in the 2000 census was less than 40 percent.

Democratic Party politicians are a big part of the campaign urging people to fill out the census forms. Reporting on a press conference by U.S. senator Kirsten Gillibrand and New York secretary of state Lorraine Cortés-Vázquez, the *Daily News* claimed that "the city lost out on hundreds of millions of dollars in federal and state funding over the past decade because only 55 percent of New York City residents mailed in 2000 Census forms."

"Invisible people do not count in this country," Cortés-Vázquez said. "Invisible people do not have a voice."

While putting census workers on the government payroll for a few months, the Obama administration has offered no serious program to provide jobs to the millions of unemployed, 40 percent of whom have been without work for at least six months. Instead, the recent "jobs bill" signed by the president March 18 focuses on providing tax breaks to businesses.

While some temporary workers are being added on by the federal government, state and local governments have stepped up job cuts. Employment has declined for each of the past eight months, with more to come.

Black workers are facing some of the highest unemployment rates. According to a recent report from Congress's Joint Economic Committee, "one in four African Americans face underemployment or unemployment" and face "longer stretches of unemployment than the general population."

LETTERS

Cop killings in Oregon

There have been a series of protests in Portland, Oregon, since the police shot and killed Aaron Campbell, an unarmed young Black man, January 29.

After someone called 911 for a domestic disturbance, the cops arrived on the scene and Campbell was ordered to come out of his home with his hands up. Shortly after he emerged with his hands on the back of his head, a cop shot him in the back. He was handcuffed while bleeding to death on the ground with no attempt to resuscitate him.

Each time the Portland cops shoot and kill an unarmed person, they are not charged with homicide but instead are exonerated and returned to duty later.

Marta De Leon
Beaverton, Oregon

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Grateful for 'Militant'

Those of us here who read and circulate the paper are grateful. Thank you. Also, we're not hearing much on Venezuela, other than corporate media hype, which is difficult to combat.

A prisoner
California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

March in D.C.

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by rally organizers. But they also waved their Mexican, Salvadoran, and other flags of national origin. Many said that for them, "immigration reform" meant legalization and the right of workers and their families to live, work, and go to school in the United States without the threat of deportation hanging over them.

'Need amnesty' to fight on shop floor

A poultry worker from Delaware, who asked that his name not be used, came on a bus with 47 coworkers. He described the conditions in the plant. "Even though we have the union, there's constant pressure. We need amnesty so we can fight better against the abuses," he said.

Hundreds of workers came from Georgia, many carrying signs against the 287(g) program, which allows local and state police to act as immigration cops. "Getting rid of 287 is important to us," explained Marisol Perez. "In Georgia, you can't get a driver's license without papers. Then they stop you for a traffic violation and next thing you know, you're being deported."

A construction worker named Arturo from Gwinnett County, Georgia, described workers changing jobs and moving children to new schools frequently to evade the police. When he heard the Schumer-Graham proposal requires workers to state they committed a crime by entering the United States illegally, he said, "We're not guilty of anything! I'm not guilty because my country is poor!"

Zoé Colón organized a busload of workers from Mamaroneck, New York. She explained that they had recently won a lawsuit to prevent police harassment of day laborers and had opened a workers center. "We're here to raise our voices because we need legalization, or at least a pathway to it," Colón said.

Many contingents of students dotted the rally. Carrying signs proclaiming, "*Si se puede"* (Yes we can), more than 100 students from St. Dominic's-Romeoville High School in Bolingbrook, Illinois, marched.

"We just found out about the protest three days ago," said Gisella Tavarez. "But we organized to get 21 students here from Binghamton, New York." Tavarez and Danisha Florentino are both leaders of the Latin American Student Organization at the state university there. "We did a forum on campus to discuss the issues and encourage people to come," Florentino added.

Some of the students at the march carried signs supporting the "Dream Act," a bill to make it possible for some students without papers to attend college or enlist in the armed forces and eventually receive legal residence papers. Francisco Chevalier, a student from Gainesville State College in Georgia, carried a sign supporting the Dream Act. "But really what I think is that everyone should get amnesty," he said.

A significant number of U.S.-born participants were African American. Etessa Quick came with her husband James. He trims loins at the Smithfield packinghouse in Tar Heel, North Carolina. "I grew up in Mississippi in the '60s," she said. "I remember having to get off the sidewalk and turn my face away when a white person passed. Both my uncle and my mother's cousin were lynched. Now I have three grandkids. One is part-Latino, one is part-white, and one is part-Indian. That's why I think this march is important."

Stanley Salazar, a laid-off construction worker from Kensington, Maryland, said, "It's not just one or two things, it's the whole system. People thought Obama would be different because he's Black, but nothing's changed. Now we can see that it's not only a problem of racism, but the whole system itself that needs to be changed."

Following the rally, there was a long and spirited march by many thousands returning to buses parked at RFK Stadium three miles away. As the marchers left the Capitol area and entered Black, working-class neighborhoods, residents came out to welcome them and some joined in the chants of "*Sí se puede*."

In California March 21 actions for immigrant rights drew 3,000 in San Jose and 500 in Oxnard. Two hundred people rallied in Houston.

Cindy Jaquith contributed to this article.